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*The Liquor Question in Hawaii*  
*What should be done about it?*

By LORRIN A. THURSTON

O. O. D.  
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# The Liquor Question in Hawaii---What should be done about it?

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Paper read before the Honolulu Social Science Association

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By LORRIN A. THURSTON

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THE method of handling the liquor question is always an important question in any community. It is always an especially important one in Hawaii. By reason of certain recent events, it is at present of more than usual importance.

## EVENTS WHICH HAVE BROUGHT PROHIBITION TO THE FRONT.

Some of the events which have recently brought the subject into prominence are:

1. The passage of a high license liquor law by the legislature of 1907, the administration of which is in the hands of a commission in each county, appointed by the Governor.

2. A pledge in the local Republican party platform at the election for the legislature in 1909 that no material changes would be made in the law of 1907.

3. The deliberate, and almost successful, attempt of the liquor interests, during the session of the legislature in 1909, to eliminate from the law the main features of control vested in the several commissions, and the securing of a strong majority vote in the senate in favor of such amendment, notwithstanding the fact that the senate was overwhelmingly Republican and that the votes for the amendment were in plain violation of the party pledge.

4. The recent open defiance by the Honolulu brewery of the law against Sunday sale of liquor.

5. The quantity of so-called "rectified" whisky and other doctored liquors placed upon the market, and the open claim of leading members of the Liquor Dealers' Association before the liquor commission that such "whisky" was no more harmful than the genuine article; with the apparent acquiescence of the commission in that view. At least no move has been made by it to prevent the sale of such beverages, although it has the full power so to do.

6. The recent large number of deaths, in Honolulu, homicidal and otherwise, through the direct influence of alcoholic liquor—chiefly the "rectified" variety.

7. The introduction into congress, entirely without local initiation, of a prohibition law applicable to the Territory of Hawaii.



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## LIQUOR SENTIMENT IN HAWAII.

The people of Hawaii may be divided into three classes, viz.:

First—The liquor dealers, who know exactly what they want, and are working incessantly to secure it—i. e., to increase the sale of liquor;

Second—The pronounced prohibitionists—"the old guard"—who have advocated the prohibition of the saloon on principle, without any definite expectation of accomplishing that result;

Third—The great mass of the people, who have been indifferent to the subject; or, who have thought prohibition so improbable that it has not occurred to them as being a practical question, requiring any thought or action.

## A PROPOSITION FROM THE SKY.

Suddenly, out of a clear sky, has come the most momentous proposition, as affecting Hawaii's future, that has loomed on the horizon since the Territory was organized.

Congress, without initiation from Hawaii, has assumed active consideration of a bill which proposes at one fell swoop, to abolish all manufacture and dealing in alcoholic liquor, both at wholesale and retail, except for medicinal purposes, under the close supervision of the government.

It is almost impossible to conceive of the widespread consequences in and to Hawaii, if a bill of this character is passed and enforced.

A brief historical resume of some of the events relating to the liquor question and of liquor legislation in Hawaii is essential to an intelligent understanding of the situation, and of the claims which the native Hawaiian has for special consideration at our hands.

## NO ALCOHOLIC LIQUOR IN ANCIENT HAWAII.

Prior to the coming of white people to Hawaii in the latter part of the eighteenth century, alcoholic liquors were unknown to the Hawaiians. The only thing which they had approximating an intoxicant was dried awa root, which, mixed with water, made a drink which was rather narcotic than intoxicating in its effects.

The native Hawaiians took to alcoholic liquor like ducks to water, however, and its effect upon them was like that of the microbe of a virulent disease in virgin soil. Almost immediately after the process of distilling became known to them, stills were in use all over the Islands. It is related of Kamehameha I. that, although he was a temperate man, he became drunk upon one occasion, and made such a fool of himself that he thereafter always used a wine glass upon which there was a mark from which to drink his liquor; filling it up to that mark, and under no circumstances drinking any more on that occasion.

## PROHIBITION BY KAMEHAMEHA.

In 1818, about a year before his death, having become convinced that liquor was injuring his people, Kamehameha called a great council of all his chiefs on the Island of Hawaii, at Kailua, causing a large grass council house to be built for the express purpose of holding the meeting with his chiefs therein. Among other subjects he brought up for discussion was that of the manufacture and consumption of liquor. After due consideration with the chiefs, he said to them:

"I COMMAND YOU EVERY ONE TO GO HOME, EACH TO YOUR OWN DISTRICT, AND DESTROY EVERY LIQUOR STILL WHICH YOU FIND. DISTILLING AND DRINKING LIQUOR ARE TABU FROM THIS TIME FORWARD."

It is further related that the chiefs immediately returned home and carried out the King's orders. The council house was thereupon, by the King's orders, torn down so that it might not be used for any other purpose, as an indication of the King's opinion of the importance of the occasion.

### **THE LIQUOR QUESTION UNDER KAMEHAMEHA II.**

Kamehameha I. was succeeded by his son, Kamehameha II. He was a weak, dissolute man, devoting himself to riotous living and drunkenness. Under him all restraint upon the manufacture and use of alcoholic liquor disappeared, and the use of liquor became so general as to menace the very existence of the people. The King finally went to England, where, largely through the weakening of his constitution by his previous excesses, he died.

### **PROHIBITION BY KAAHUMANU.**

After the death of Kamehameha II., in 1824, Kaahumanu, the widow of Kamehameha I., and Regent during the minority of Kamehameha III., decreed prohibition, and, with the absolute power of life and death that existed in the hands of the high chiefs, it was effectual to a great extent.

Foreigners generally, including the British and American consuls, denied the right of the Hawaiian government to make laws applicable to foreigners. In spite of this opposition, the Regent, the King and the chiefs joined in the passage and publication of an embryo penal code, applicable alike to foreigners and natives. One of these was as follows:

### **WE FORBID THE SELLING OF RUM.**

"We forbid the selling of rum here. Whoever shall sell rum shall be imprisoned." The word "rum" was used in a generic sense, meaning "alcoholic liquor." By 1829 the use of liquor by natives had almost ceased, the power of the chiefs at that time, over the common people, being very great.

After the death of Ahumanu, in 1832, drunkenness again became rife, until the evil effects became so great that restrictive laws were passed in 1833, 1835, and 1838, culminating in the prohibition of the importation of spirituous liquors, in August, 1838. There was difficulty, however, in enforcing the law as against foreigners, they claiming the right to import liquors as a matter of trade and resenting any interference therewith as an infringement of their international rights.

The government compromised, therefore, by allowing them to import wines, but maintained the prohibiting of stronger liquors.

This legislation was resented by the liquor-dealing fraternity among the foreigners, and, led by the French consul, they continued to harass the government.

### **A LIFELONG STRUGGLE BY KAMEHAMEHA III. FOR PROHIBITION.**

As is well known, the Kingdom of Hawaii made immense strides under Kamehameha III. Private titles to land were given to the people; laws were formulated and codified; courts were established; a liberal constitution promulgated, and a complete constitutional government, consisting of cabinet and legislature with two houses, was established, with a liberal election law.

### **DISREPUTABLE PREVENTION OF PROHIBITION BY FOREIGNERS.**

Although himself repeatedly the victim of overindulgence in liquor, during the entire period of his reign, from 1838 to his death in 1854, a continuous struggle was maintained by him and his government to enact and enforce legislation prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in Hawaii. That he did not succeed, was solely owing to the opposition of foreigners, extending to the point of prevention by force of arms. France led in this disreputable policy. Not only did France refuse to permit the prohibition

of liquor, but, in the course, and largely growing out of this opposition, it oppressed the Hawaiian government in many ways and at many times. Among other aggressions, she landed troops, seized and dismantled the fort of Honolulu, spiking the guns. She seized and carried away the King's yacht, which was never returned, and compelled the government to pay the sum of \$20,000 in cash for damages for alleged insults.

### **FRENCH AGGRESSION ABOLISHING AND PROHIBITING PROHIBITION OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUOR.**

The initiation of French persecution of Hawaii was under Captain Laplace of the French frigate L'Artemise, who arrived in Honolulu in 1839, the year after the enactment of the anti-liquor legislation. He immediately formulated a number of demands upon the Hawaiian government, among which was the one that French wines and liquors should be permitted to be imported into Hawaii and that no more than 5 per cent duty should be charged thereon.

Under threat of force, he compelled the Hawaiian government to sign a treaty with France containing this provision, which reads as follows:

“FRENCH MERCHANDISE, or known to be of French procedure (origin) AND ESPECIALLY WINES AND BRANDIES, SHALL NOT BE PROHIBITED NOR PAY A HIGHER DUTY THAN FIVE PER CENT AD VALOREM.”

Naturally, all other nationalities demanded the same privileges that were accorded the French, and in short order free liquor was again in full blast throughout the Islands.

### **FRENCH AGGRESSION A NIGHTMARE TO HAWAII.**

France and the French, and their possible aggression, became such a nightmare to the Hawaiian government and people that a formal cession of Hawaii to the United States was executed by the King and forwarded to Washington to go into effect in case the French attempted to seize the country. An American and a Hawaiian flag were sewed together, with the American on top, with orders that the same should be hoisted in the palace yard the moment the French should attempt to land with intent to take possession.

### **FRENCH PREVENTION OF PROHIBITION EXTENDED TO 1873.**

It was not until 1873 that the French veto of prohibition in Hawaii was ended, by the cancellation of that portion of the treaty by the Hawaiian government, France having, since 1839, compelled the admission of liquor into Hawaii, against the will of the Island government.

### **DETAILS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PROHIBITION BY KAMEHAMEHA III**

The persistent attempt of Kamehameha III. and his chiefs to deliver his people from the evils of alcoholic liquor, in the face of the malignant hostility of an overwhelmingly powerful opponent, are worthy of some examination in detail, although the limits of this paper must exclude much that bears upon the subject.

### **ANTI-LIQUOR LEGISLATION IN 1840.**

Notwithstanding the disastrous and humiliating results of the collision with France in 1839, and the difficulty of controlling the subject, when all the world could import liquor upon paying a duty of only 5 per cent., we find the King making another attempt to stem the tide of drunkenness by passing a new law in October, 1840, entitled: “LAW PROHIBITING THE MANUFACTURE AND USE OF INTOXICATING DRINKS.”

The preamble of the law throws a strong sidelight upon the then conditions relating to drunkenness. It is as follows:



"In our inquiries after the best means of promoting the interests of the kingdom, it has appeared to us that an increase in the production of food is of great importance. Scarcity of food is, of course, a great evil to the country.

"It is said that the present is a time of scarcity, and we therefore have been searching for the cause of it. One reason we ascertain to be the following: Articles of food, potatoes, sugar cane, melons and other things are taken and transformed into intoxicating drink; **THE PEOPLE REMAIN IN IDLENESS WITHOUT LABOR, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THEIR LYING DRUNK; WHEREFORE THE LAND IS GROWN OVER WITH WEEDS AND IS IMPOVERISHED.**

"In consequence of our desire to promote the order and welfare of the kingdom, we have assembled to reflect on the subject, and now enact this law." Then follow provisions prohibiting the manufacture of alcoholic liquor, and the furnishing or consumption of the same.

#### **ATTEMPT OF M. KEKUANAOA TO SECURE REDRESS FROM FRANCE.**

At this time M. Kekuanaoa, the father of Kamehameha V., then acting as Governor of the Island of Oahu, took upon himself to attempt to secure redress from France, and wrote a letter to the French premier on December 10, 1841, the original of which, in Hawaiian, is on file in the Archives building in Honolulu. The following is a translation by John Wise:

#### **LETTER TO THE PREMIER OF FRANCE.**

Honolulu, Oahu, December 10, 1841.

To His Excellency M. Guizot,

Premier of the Kingdom of France,

Greeting:—

"Having been informed that your Excellency is a kind and an upright man, and have under your charge the settlement of all foreign matters, I therefore am most desirous of bringing to your knowledge some of the difficulties we are now experiencing in Hawaii.

#### **LIQUOR THREATENS EXISTENCE OF HAWAIIAN PEOPLE.**

"ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES THAT IS NOW THREATENING OUR VERY EXISTENCE IS THE IMPORTATION OF LIQUORS FROM FOREIGN LANDS. In the days when this people were still in the dark, foreign liquors were in common use here. The men and women, chiefs and common people all drank liquor from day to day. Before the importation of foreign liquors we drank fermented sweet potatoes, mountain apples, watermelons, sugar cane and ti root. Our condition then, however, was much better than now. After the importation of foreign liquors, riots became common and our condition most critical. Since then, and during the time of Kaahumanu I., a little light dawned upon us, and we then learned to write, had schools, and were taught the word of God, which had been brought here and which was the cause of our enlightenment.

#### **PROHIBITION BY KAAHUMANU.**

"The chiefs through this enlightenment then realized the evils of drink, and Kaahumanu and others prohibited the use of this great cause of evil—the selling of liquor as well as the use of it. This action restored peace amongst us.

#### **FREE LIQUOR AGAIN.**

"In the year of the Lord 1832, Kaahumanu I. died, and riot again became rampant because the cause of our peace had gone to her rest, and we once more were made to realize the great evil of drink. It was at Oahu here that the worst danger was, however, realized, where most of the foreigners who were selling liquor had their shops. This continued to the year of the Lord 1838.

## PROHIBITION AGAIN IN 1838.

“The chiefs, realizing the danger if no restraint was placed on the traffic, again sought to make new laws which would again restore that peace we had formerly experienced. They enacted some very widespread and stringent laws, and the use of all kinds of liquors was prohibited by the new Premier, Kaahumanu II. No liquors were allowed to be landed except wine.

## PEACE ONCE MORE, UNTIL FRANCE FORCED LIQUOR ON HAWAII.

“Under this law we again obtained peace, which continued to the year 1839, when Kaahumanu II. died. In the same year, in the month of July, a vessel of your country called the *Artemise*, under Captain Laplace, arrived.

## LIQUOR FORCED ON HAWAII THROUGH FEAR.

“At this time the chiefs were again forced to consent to the landing of foreign liquors. This consent was obtained, I wish to inform you, through fear of war. It was not because the chiefs wanted liquor that this consent was given to that treaty with Captain Laplace, which allowed the importation of the vile stuff, but because of fear; the chiefs had realized their weakness and also the smallness of their number, and were therefore unable to oppose your great and powerful nation. The laws restricting this vile stuff were again crumbled, and from that time until this day riots and evils of all kinds have become frequent in our land. Vessels from all countries are bringing liquors and landing them on our shores, because of this treaty with Captain Laplace, which provides that ‘French merchandise, or known to be of French manufacture, wines and brandies shall not be prohibited, nor pay a higher duty than five per cent. ad valorem.’

## OTHER FOREIGNERS AS WELL.

“Other foreigners, such as Englishmen and Americans, have joined in demand that they be given the same privileges in their treaties. Our country, therefore, is full of liquor and drunkenness and we are unable to stamp out the evil.

## RESTRICTION, EVEN, FRUSTRATED BY FRANCE.

“Our chiefs, however, have looked into the enactment of new laws to overcome the evils of liquor, and we are trying to adjust the retail sale of the article; but have not carried the thing to that point of success as anticipated by us, because of the continual interference made by Dudoit, the French consul. If we fine a retail liquor dealer because of some breach of the law, he will then step in, and with anger say to us, ‘You have broken the treaty,’ and will then lend his influence to support the retail dealer, and thus put our efforts to naught.

“It is our opinion that this action on our part does not constitute a breach of the treaty, because the treaty does not refer to the retail dealing of the articles, but only to the importation of the same.

## FEAR FURTHER AGGRESSION BY FRANCE.

“Therefore we have been put to great inconvenience by your consul, because of the fear that we may again fall in his disfavor and another French warship be sent here to again oppress this weak and small nation. \* \* \* \*

## AN APPEAL FOR JUSTICE.

“Because of these things, our troubles are never at an end, and we therefore inform you (great and kind man that you are) of them, in order that you may have a true knowledge of the facts, and thereby be enabled to do away our difficulties. I believe it best that a new treaty be made and this one dis-



carded because it is so onesided. I also believe that a new consul should be appointed, one who is kind and upright, that we may prosper and this nation made like unto your own, and also that the \$20,000 which was taken by Laplace be returned.

"I trust that the people of all nations shall be at peace in the future. We realize we are still ignorant and wanting in many things, but we are earnestly striving to obtain knowledge and shall deem ourselves fortunate if the constant interference made by foreign nations should cease for all time. There are a number of foreigners here who are spreading false reports of us, and who are trying to get possession of the country without our permission, and thereby causing us no end of trouble.

"With the greatest of respect to you and your King, I remain, your obedient servant,  
M. KEKUANA'OA."

### APPEAL IS FRUITLESS.

This pathetic appeal, by a child of savagery, to the most enlightened nation in Europe, fell on deaf ears. France continued her aggression and made them yet more onerous to bear.

### SECOND FRENCH TREATY—STILL FORCED LIQUOR ON HAWAII.

Five years later, after continuous, but fruitless, effort to secure an amended treaty, France agreed to a revision, and on March 26, 1846, a new treaty was entered into, which cancelled the restriction of duties on liquors to five per cent., but it still compelled Hawaii to admit French liquors.

The treaty clause upon this point is as follows:

"French merchandise, or goods recognized as coming from the French dominions, shall not be prohibited, nor shall they be subject to an import duty higher than five per cent. ad valorem. Wines, brandies and other spirituous liquors are, however, excepted from this stipulation and shall be liable to such reasonable duty as the Hawaiian government may think to lay upon them, provided, always, that the amount of duty shall not be so high as absolutely to prohibit the importation of the said articles."

### ENGLAND JOINS FRANCE.

Up to this time England and the other nations had remained in the background, taking advantage of the dirty work of France under the "favored nation" doctrine, which permitted them to do whatever France could do; but England now came out from under cover, and took her turn at bullying Hawaii, an English naval captain hauling down the Hawaiian and hoisting the British flag over the Islands, and constituting himself and his officers the executive, legislative and judiciary departments of the government for a number of months. He was later ousted by his superior officer, but the British government evened up by demanding on its own behalf the same terms granted France, and a treaty was therefore signed with England, likewise prohibiting Hawaii from excluding English liquors.

### HAWAII'S NEXT MOVE.

Hawaii was quick to take action upon even this meager concession. The very next month, on April 27, 1846, legislation was passed which struck at the liquor traffic in four different directions, viz.:

First—It raised the duties on imported liquors, on a sliding scale, with a minimum of \$10 a gallon.

Second—IT MADE IT A PENAL OFFENSE TO "SELL OR FURNISH SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS TO ANY NATIVE SUBJECT OF THESE ISLANDS."

Third—It directed that, as soon as subsisting treaties would permit, the minister of interior should be empowered, “in case of the modification or annulment of any subsisting treaty stipulation entered into by this government with any other nation, regarding the sale of spirituous liquors in this kingdom (which may God grant), to issue his proclamation, discontinuing, prospectively, the vending thereof at retail, and the further issuing of licenses for that purpose.”

It further provided that “So soon as the modification of existing treaties will permit, the minister of finance shall recommend to His Majesty in privy council, the measures which, in his estimation, may seem best calculated to repress and effectually prevent the importation of spirituous and intoxicating drinks of every description, either by prohibitory duties or by declaring them contraband of trade, and liable to confiscation; which recommendation, being adopted by His Majesty in privy council, and publicly announced by proclamation, signed by His Majesty, and attested by the minister of finance, shall from the date to be fixed in said proclamation, have the binding force and efficacy of law. Whereupon, and not sooner, the minister of the interior shall, by his proclamation, discontinue, prospectively, the issuing of licenses for the wholesale and retail vending thereof.”

Fourth—It increased the penalty for distilling liquor in Hawaii to \$1000, and imprisonment until paid.

### HAWAII'S DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

Thus did Hawaii declare her principles upon the subject of alcoholic liquor and formally put on record the fact that foreign powers alone forced her to permit the liquor traffic which was destroying her people. So far as she could do so, she prevented her people from using liquor; but with a market open to all the world, and liquor available at all principal points, the prohibition to natives was only partially effectual.

With this legislation, the active struggle of the Hawaiian government, under Kamehameha III., to secure the exclusion of spirituous liquor from Hawaii, ceased.

What more could he do?

For seven years he had been harried and bullied by the two strongest governments in the world, and intoxicating liquors forced upon him and his people, all in the interest of the liquor business. He had done his best. He could do no more.

Was ever there a more cowardly and disgraceful act of aggression by alleged civilized and Christian governments? If so, I have not heard of it.

### PROHIBITION ON OTHER ISLANDS.

Only one further liquor statute was passed during the reign of Kamehameha III. The liquor interests pressing for wider scope for their traffic by the issuance of licenses for the other islands, the King and the legislature took no chances that some easygoing official might grant it; but on the 20th of June, 1851, the legislature passed a joint resolution, which was approved by the King, as follows:

“Whereas, There have been numerous applications for places other than Honolulu for licenses to retail spirituous liquors; and,

“Whereas, It is feared that greater evil will grow out of such licenses on other islands; therefore, be it

“Resolved, That after the passage of this resolution it shall not be lawful to grant licenses for the retail of spirituous, including all wines and other intoxicating drinks, at any other place in the kingdom than Honolulu.”

### KAMEHAMEHA IV. COMES TO THE THRONE.

Kamehameha III. died in 1854, and was succeeded by Kamehameha IV. He was a genial, pleasant man, but was cursed by thirst for liquor.

While in a drunken frenzy he shot and killed his private secretary, for whom he had great friendship. When he became sober, this act so preyed upon his mind that it was with the greatest difficulty that his advisers prevented his abdicating the throne.

Upon another occasion it is alleged that while under the influence of liquor he so illtreated his only son, the Prince of Hawaii, that the latter died from the effects thereof, thereby cutting off the hopes of perpetuating the Kamehameha family, for no issue was thereafter born to any member of the Kamehameha family.

Though himself a victim of the policy of forcing liquor upon Hawaii, he, like his predecessor, recognized the evils arising from the use of intoxicating liquors, and steadfastly refused to sanction any modification of the existing anti-liquor legislation.

### FRANCE UNEASY, BUT QUIESCENT.

The French were indignant at what they were pleased to term the "bad faith" of the Hawaiian government, in passing the laws above set forth, claiming that they were in violation of the spirit of the treaty which prohibited prohibition.

### THE UNITED STATES TAKES A HAND.

Bullying tactics were resumed from time to time; but the attention of the United States government having been drawn to the matter, the French government were warned to keep their hands off of Hawaii.

Secretary of State Daniel Webster is reported to have said, upon hearing of the French actions: "I hope that the French will not take possession of Hawaii; but if they do, they will be dislodged, if my advice is taken, if it takes the whole power of the United States to do it."

### FRANCE AT IT AGAIN IN 1857.

The American attitude put a quietus on the French in Hawaii for a number of years; but they returned to the attack again in 1857, when a new treaty was negotiated, under which they demanded and obtained a provision fixing the maximum duty on French brandy at \$3 a gallon.

The old clause, preventing the exclusion of French liquors, was continued in force, and remained binding upon Hawaii until 1873, when, for the first time, she felt able to brave French displeasure and denounce this provision of the treaty.

### KAMEHAMEHA IV. REITERATES PRINCIPLE OF PROHIBITION.

Kamehameha IV. testified to his belief in the principles embodied in the liquor legislation of 1846, above set forth, for, in 1859, the legislature compiled a civil code, which he signed, in which was reenacted the law of 1846 relating to wholesale and retail licenses, including the provision directing the ministers of the interior and finance to prohibit the importation and sale of liquor as soon as existing treaties would permit. This continued to be the law of Hawaii until the adoption of the Revised Laws by the legislature of 1905.

### KAMEHAMEHA V. PREVENTS FREE LIQUOR TO HAWAIIANS.

Kamehameha IV. was followed on the throne by Kamehameha V. He was the strongest character in the line of the Kamehamehas, with the exception of the first one. Although he arbitrarily abrogated the constitution granted by



Kamehameha III. and arrogated powers to himself which had theretofore been granted to the people, he justified the acts by the claim that the liberalizing of the government had been too rapid for the good of the people; that they were unused to and unfit for the full self government conferred upon them by Kamehameha III.

An illustration of his strength of character was that when the legislature proposed to repeal the law prohibiting the sale of liquor to native Hawaiians, a bill introduced for that purpose in 1865, although the proposition was exceedingly popular, and was favored by Messrs. Wyllie and Devarigny, the two leading members of the cabinet, the King sent for the ministers and several leading members of the legislature and told them that if they persisted in passing the bill he would veto it. He said:

“I will never sign the death warrant of my people.”

### **KALAKAUA “SIGNS THE DEATH WARRANT” OF HIS PEOPLE.**

The determined stand taken by the King prevented the question being again brought up for action until 1882, when, for political purposes, Kalakaua and leading representatives of the liquor interests in Honolulu, forced a repeal of this prohibitory law through the legislature, against the protest and opposition of every conservative influence in the country, thus ending the prohibition against selling or furnishing liquor to native Hawaiians which had been enacted and enforced by every King and legislature, except Kamehameha II. since 1818.

### **ACTION OF SUGAR PLANTERS.**

Evidence of the feeling of the responsible portion of the community upon this subject is the action taken by the Sugar Planters' Association as follows: The Planters Labor & Supply Company, the first formal organization of Hawaiian Sugar Planters, was organized in March, 1882. It included practically all the sugar planters of the day.

The first board of trustees were: E. P. Adams, S. T. Alexander, J. C. Glade, A. S. Hartwell, W. G. Irwin, J. H. Paty and Z. S. Spaulding

One of the first acts of the trustees was to appoint committees, one of which was upon legislation, consisting of: Alfred S. Hartwell, P. C. Jones, Jr., John H. Paty, Jonathan Austin and James Woods.

The committee filed their report on March 21st, 1882, recommending certain legislation, among other of which was:

“The statutory prohibition of sales of spirituous or intoxicating liquors to Chinese or Polynesians.”

This recommendation was discussed at length on the 23rd and 24th of March, resulting in an amendment to the recommendation to the effect that it be made to cover total prohibition of importation and sale of liquor, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the association, viz:

### **TOTAL PROHIBITION RECOMMENDED.**

“That the board of trustees be recommended to use their utmost endeavors to secure the passage of a law totally prohibiting the importation and sale of all spirituous or intoxicating liquors, except for medical and mechanical purposes, and that the board of trustees be further requested to consider what means are necessary for the better enforcement of the existing laws against the manufacture of liquor.”

The following members were among those who voted for this amendment, viz: S. T. Alexander, S. L. Austin, S. N. Castle, W. H. Bailey, W. H. Rickard, T. K. Clark, H. A. Widemann, H. P. Baldwin, R. R. Hind, P. C. Jones, Jr., E. P. Adams, W. G. Irwin, A. S. Hartwell, G. F. Holmes, H. Deacon, J. C. Glade, J. N. Wright, R. A. Macfie, Jr., Jonathan Austin, H. M. Whitney, W. O. Smith,

Jas. Woods, J. Spencer, L. S. Thompson, J. M. Alexander, S. B. Dole, C. G. Kynnersley, T. R. Walker, G. N. Wilcox, E. A. Burchardt, W. W. Hall, F. A. Schaefer, J. H. Soper, A. H. Smith, C. F. Hart, W. F. Grant and W. E. Rowell.

### WHY THE PLANTERS FAVORED PROHIBITION.

The initial number of the Planters' Monthly, published in April, 1882, contains an editorial concerning the foregoing resolution from which the following is an extract:

"There is a strong temptation to speculate as to the reason why the Planters' Association unanimously adopted the resolution in favor of total prohibition against intoxicating liquors, both as to sale and importation. No doubt, as suggested, a large number of them not only do not believe in the principle of prohibition, but themselves use beer, wines and liquors in moderate quantities, with no more injury than results from the use of beefsteak or toast and coffee,—men who have been used to the thing all their lives and whose views are not suddenly changed. There is no use in speaking of this action as a high moral stand. The planters themselves are the last who would have a wrong impression go abroad as to the moving springs of this action. The resolution against importing and selling intoxicating liquors was adopted, because every planter was convinced that the increasing use of such liquors, among the laboring people particularly, is directly injuring the material interests of the country, increasing crime, and taking away from the security of life and property. The method proposed to meet and overcome the evil, appears the most direct and simple, and as such was adopted."

In pursuance of the recommendation, the trustees employed S. B. Dole to draft a bill and it was presented to the legislature by W. H. Rice, but the legislature was defeated by the combined influence of the liquor interests and King Kalakaua, who made common cause with them.

### LIQUOR AND ROYAL POLITICS.

It was about this time that free liquor in enormous quantities became the most prominent feature in support of the so-called Royal ticket for the legislature. The method of securing liquor for this purpose at no cost to the politicians, as subsequently appeared upon the records of the court in connection with a criminal prosecution for defrauding the Treasury, was as follows:

The King had the privilege of importing liquors, for royal use, free of duty. In abuse of this privilege he issued orders upon the custom house for the admission of free liquor to an amount which furnished not only all that was required for the Royal use, but, in addition thereto, all that was needed for debauching the electorate at elections for representatives to the legislature, and, in addition thereto, enough more liquor, the duties on which thus remitted, paid for all that had been furnished to the King and for use at the elections.

### LIQUOR BY THE TUBFULL.

The liquor used at the election of the legislature which abolished the law prohibiting sales of liquor to native Hawaiians was not by the bottle but by the tubfull.

The writer personally attended a royal electioneering meeting at the foot of Queen street one evening, at which galvanized wash tubs, holding approximately twenty gallons each, were filled with gin which had been emptied from the bottles, which was being ladled out with a soup ladle into tumblers and furnished free in unlimited quantities to all comers. There were several thousand natives present, mostly in a maudlin condition; and upon my entry to the grounds, I was met by one of the leading candidates on the Royal ticket, who welcomed me, urging me to have a drink, saying: "Come over here and see my dead soldiers," pointing to a row of some dozen natives lying insensible alongside of a partly empty tub of gin.

## THE PLANTERS' TRUSTEES REPORT.

In the report by the trustees to the annual meeting of the Planters' Association, in October, 1882, the trustees referred to their action in this connection as follows:

"When the board of trustees first received the trust committed to their hands the country was upon the eve of the biennial session of the legislature. Among the instructions given to the board was an order to use the influence and moral support of the sugar planters of the Islands as expressed by unanimous vote in favor of prohibition of alcoholic beverages. This question was brought before the legislature, and the trustees secured the services of a prominent lawyer to draft a prohibitory bill; but notwithstanding the unanimous support of the most intelligent members of the legislature, and the moral effect of favorable petitions from all parts of the country, the matter was decided by the passage and approval of an act commonly known as 'The Free Liquor Bill.' "

At the annual meeting of the Planters' Association, held in October, 1882, the following trustees were elected: S. T. Alexander, W. G. Irwin, J. H. Paty, J. C. Glade, A. S. Hartwell, F. A. Schaefer, P. C. Jones, T. H. Davies, E. P. Adams, G. N. Wilcox, Z. S. Spalding, J. B. Atherton and W. H. Bailey.

### EXTENSION OF LICENSES TO OTHER ISLANDS.

Up to March, 1883, retail liquor licenses had been issued for Honolulu only. The authority for issuing them in other districts was vested in the minister of the interior, subject to the control of the privy council, a body nominated by the King. Without preliminary notice of their intention so to do, a meeting of the privy council was held, members from the country having been summoned to Honolulu for the express purpose, and passed a resolution authorizing the minister of the interior to issue liquor licenses for the country districts.

### PLANTERS PROTEST AGAINST EXTENSION OF LICENSES.

The trustees of the Planters' Company, together with a number of other leading members of the company, held a special meeting on March 23, 1883, to discuss this subject, and adopted a unanimous resolution protesting against the issuing of such licenses, addressing the following communication to the then minister of the interior, Charles T. Gulick:

"To His Excellency, Chas. T. Gulick, Minister of the Interior:

"Sir:—We are informed that His Majesty, by and with the consent of His Privy Council, has authorized your Excellency to, in your discretion, issue licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors in certain districts of the Kingdom, in which there are now no licensed liquor dealers, and that the issuing of such licenses is contemplated by your Excellency.

"While we disclaim any desire to improperly interfere with your Excellency's judgment in the matter, and in no wise impugn the motives of His Majesty or the Privy Council, by reason of such authorization, we feel that the importance of the question demands the most earnest consideration on the part of your Excellency and warrants our addressing you in the matter.

"On behalf of the Planters' Labor and Supply Company, of the material interest of the planters, whom we represent, and of what we believe to be the best interests both moral and material of the community at large, we hereby urge upon your Excellency with all possible strength, that in the exercise of that discretion with which the law invests you, you may refuse to issue such licenses.

"We would call your attention to the following resolution, unanimously adopted by the members of the Planters' Labor and Supply Company on the 25th of March, 1882, viz:



“That the Board of Trustees be recommended to use their utmost endeavors to secure the passage of a law totally prohibiting the importation and sale of all spirituous or intoxicating liquors, except for medicinal and mechanical purposes, and that the Board of Trustees be further requested to consider what means are necessary for the better enforcement of the existing laws against the manufacture of liquor.”

“The reason for the adoption of such a resolution exists today as it did then, but in an increased degree.

“Representing as we do, men of many nationalities and opinions, we base our request not upon moral grounds as to the propriety or otherwise of using intoxicating liquors, but upon the universal experience of planters of all nationalities and opinions, that the use of intoxicating liquors is in a high degree detrimental to the efficiency and welfare of the laborer, and injurious to the planter, and upon the firm and earnest conviction that the issuance of the licenses referred to would be a dire disaster to the sugar industry of these islands which is now struggling for its existence.

“Without reference to the fatal effect which the unrestrained use of intoxicating liquor would have upon the already rapidly disappearing Hawaiian race, which is a matter more especially for the consideration of His Majesty’s government, we would represent to your Excellency that the constant experience of all planters is, that the use of intoxicating liquor exercises upon labor the most demoralizing of any influence with which they have to contend.

“That in the present condition of the sugar market, anything which tends to increase the burden upon the staple industry of the country should be avoided.

“That it is our firm conviction founded upon observation and experience that the establishing of licensed liquor saloons in proximity to plantations would cause a great increase in the consumption of intoxicating liquors, and would in every way exercise a demoralizing influence upon laborers and inflict incalculable injury upon the planting industry.

“So far therefore from pursuing a course which will increase the already serious detriment to planters which the lax enforcement of the law against illicit liquor dealers causes, we would urge upon your Excellency not only that no licenses be issued for the sale of liquor in districts where plantations are situated, but that increased efforts be made to enforce the present law against illicit liquor dealers.

“Requesting and believing that this matter may receive your grave consideration.”

No attention was paid to this protest and licenses were issued throughout the country districts, chiefly to political favorites or where they would do the most good from the standpoint of political influence.

### PROHIBITION IN COUNTRY DISTRICTS IN 1887.

In December, 1887, the legislature passed an act prohibiting the further granting of licenses in districts other than Honolulu, but permitting those already issued to run until the date of their expiration.

The preamble of the act is as follows:

“Whereas, the experience of the past four years has proved that the granting of licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors at retail in the various districts of this Kingdom, is productive of evil results and does not prevent the illicit sale of such liquors, therefore be it enacted \* \* \*

“It shall not be lawful hereafter to grant any license or licenses for the vending of spirituous liquors at retail in any district of the Hawaiian Kingdom other than the District of Honolulu, in the Island of Oahu.”

The King refused to sign the act, although unanimously advised to do so by the cabinet, and the legislature declared the act to be law without his signature.

I had thought to give a synopsis of the progress of liquor legislation up to the present time; but it would be too long and is not necessary to a comprehension of the present situation.

The question before us is:

### **DO WE WANT PROHIBITION IN HAWAII?**

I must confess, that personally I have not, until recently, given any particular thought to the subject. Such a thing as Federal prohibition being a possibility had not seriously occurred to me; and its impossibility through local sources was so manifest that the subject was theoretical only.

Observation of the working of the liquor laws; of the methods and principles of the controlling spirit engaged in the liquor business in Hawaii and of the effect of liquor upon the people of Hawaii, have convinced me that the best interests of this Territory would be subserved by abolishment of the retail saloons.

### **HAWAIIANS ARE DOOMED UNLESS PROHIBITION IS ENACTED.**

It is generally admitted, and is a matter of demonstration, that the consumption of alcoholic liquor is responsible more than all other causes put together, for the rapid decline of the Hawaiian race; that it is destroying them in a constantly accelerating degree and that they are doomed unless prohibition is enacted and enforced.

That the retail saloon is the most potent element in accomplishing the destruction of the race is also beyond question.

### **AN EVER PRESENT TEMPTATION.**

There is scarcely a locality in Honolulu where the main body of laborers work, from which they can pass to their homes on pay day without encountering the fumes of whiskey as they proceed along the street; an invitation which is irresistible to many.

Hawaiians of all nationalities, and more particularly the native Hawaiians, are sociable and generous to a fault. Once in the sociable atmosphere of a bar room, treat follows treat, and drink follows drink, until the inevitable result follows.

If the temptations of the saloon were withdrawn, so that its smells, sounds and sights did not constantly appeal to the passerby, there would be far less inclination to drink than is now the case.

### **BLIND PIGS.**

The argument is constantly presented that if retail saloons are abolished, blind pigs will spring up all over the land; that more liquor will be consumed through these sources than through the saloons; that the consumption of liquor will be unregulated instead of being under the surveillance of the police, and drunkenness and crime will, therefore, be multiplied.

The utter fallacy of the claim that abolition of the retail saloon will conduce to the establishment of blind pigs, is evidenced by the fact that there are registered on the Federal records over 300 blind pigs in the Territory, the owners of which are paying an annual license to the federal internal revenue collector while holding no license from the Territorial government, and operating in defiance of the Territorial law. How many more there are no one knows. The blind pig is already here, wallowing in unrestrained multiplicity of numbers.

As to the proposition that more liquor would be sold through blind pigs than through licensed saloons, the strange fact is that practically every dealer favors the licensed saloons.

## LIQUOR DEALERS BUSINESS IS TO SELL LIQUOR.

It is in no hostile criticism to say that the liquor dealers' business is to sell liquor. The more liquor sold the more profit and the liquor dealer is in business for the same purpose that the rest of the community are. If there were more profit to the liquor dealer under an abolition of retail licenses he would most certainly be bringing every influence to bear in favor of the doing away of the saloons. As, on the contrary, he is always and everywhere using his most strenuous efforts against abolition of the retail saloon, it is logical that he believes, that less liquor will be sold if retail licenses are abolished than under a license law.

The argument that more liquor will be consumed through blind pigs than through licensed saloons may be dismissed as puerile and utterly unworthy of consideration. Prohibition does not, and never will, prevent the consumption of liquor; but if adequately enforced it can greatly diminish it.

## CAN PROHIBITION OF THE RETAIL SALOON BE SECURED LOCALLY ?

It is argued that prohibition should be sought through the local legislature; that it is a local question and should be settled locally. The liquor dealers are smitten with admiration for the local voter and glibly proclaim their fealty to the shibboleth of "home rule," and a willingness to submit to the will of the majority.

I do not believe that prohibition, or even local option, can be secured locally.

We saw at the last session of the legislature, a local option bill turned down, and every liquor vote helped to do it. Believing, as the liquor dealers do, that prohibition of the saloon would break up their business, the introduction of the question into our local politics would absolutely disrupt all parties and tickets and result in the blacklisting by the liquor dealers of every man who favored prohibition or even gave evidence of independence. They would use money freely, and bring pressure to bear, as they have in the past, to influence elections, and votes in the legislature.

## THE LIQUOR DEALERS AND JOHN HUGHES.

As an example of the ways and means pursued by the liquor dealers toward any man whose influence or independence they fear, is their treatment of John Hughes at the last election.

There is no more honest, square-dealing, reliable or representative man in this community than John Hughes. He was regularly nominated on the Republican ticket for the senate and there was no reason why he should not have been elected at the head of the poll but for the fact that in one of his addresses he announced, in substance, that he should vote in the legislature as he thought right, irrespective of the desires of the liquor interests; one of the planks in the Republican platform being that there should be no radical amendment of the existing liquor law, and there being a suggestion that the liquor interests would attempt to secure amendments in spite of that plank.

As illustrative of the methods which the liquor dealers will stoop to, is the fact that John Hughes, although a Catholic, is a broad enough one to address the Y. M. C. A. The liquor dealers sent messengers through the districts to canvass the Catholic voters and tell them that Hughes was an apostate; that he had joined the Protestants and that, therefore, he should not be voted for.

On election day they made a specialty of posting representatives at every polling place in the county leading members and employes of the liquor dealers' association being among them, who worked all day long specifically for the defeat of Hughes, interviewing, arguing and urging by every means in their power that he should not be elected. The result was his defeat. And for what? Not for advocating prohibition, or even for local option, but simply



for announcing his independence. I am glad to say that I believe that this act on the part of the liquor dealers' association is one of the nails which will ultimately fasten down the coffin cover on their business.

### **THE LIQUOR DEALERS IN THE LEGISLATURE.**

What the liquor dealers accomplished in the senate at its meeting last year we all know. In spite of the fact that the Republicans had the overwhelming control of that body; that a formal plank in the Republican platform pledged the party to make no radical amendment to the liquor law, the liquor interests succeeded in forcing through the senate a bill radically liberalizing the law in the interests of the greater sale of liquor; after narrowly failing to pass a much wider law, and every liquor member voted for it. They squirmed and explained and equivocated; but they voted for it.

What means they took to accomplish this result we cannot prove, but every citizen can imagine for himself.

### **A LESSON TO THE COMMUNITY.**

The result is a lesson to this community, however, that should not be soon forgotten, and that is that a liquor man cannot be trusted in the senate, and that it will be practically impossible to pass a local prohibition law through our legislature, even if a legislature could be elected pledged to such policy; and further, in view of the character of our electorate and of the character and methods of the liquor dealers who control the policy of the fraternity here, I do not for a moment believe that a prohibition legislature could be elected.

### **DO WE WANT FEDERAL PROHIBITION?**

If this question had been asked me a few weeks ago, I should have said, No; or at least I should not have said, "Yes"; but in view of the many evils incident to the retail liquor business in Hawaii; in view of the utter inability of the local authorities to close the blind pigs or secure conviction for violators of the law; judging the future by the past, and the past demonstrating that the aggressive element among the liquor dealing fraternity is unscrupulous as to means and insatiable in its demands for further opportunity to increase the business; in view of the fact that federal prohibition has not been proposed at our instance but has come out of a clear sky at the instance of others, I, for one, do not feel like opposing it; and feel it my duty to do what little I can to help it along now that it seems possible of accomplishment.

### **OBJECTIONS TO FEDERAL PROHIBITION.**

Many objections are made to federal prohibition, only two or three of which seem to be worth a reply.

#### **INFRINGEMENT OF RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.**

The first objection is that it will be an infringement upon our rights of local self-government.

This objection, it appears to me, to be utterly without foundation.

A federal law prohibits the use of opium in Hawaii. Is there anyone who for a minute claims that this is an infringement upon our local rights, any more than is the collection of duties or the assessment of internal revenue or federal income tax?

The federal statute known as the Edmunds Act, is enforced here through the Federal Court. Does anyone feel that our local rights are infringed upon thereby?

It is common knowledge that the Territorial law against illicit cohabitation was a dead letter, and that a bare note from the federal district attorney caused social cataclysms in some society circles.

Is our manhood affronted thereby? Are we any worse off morally or politically than before?

### **SOUTHERN ZEAL FOR HOME RULE.**

It is well known that the people of the southern states are almost fanatical in their zeal for "home rule," for exclusively local control of social questions and police regulation; that the proposition to extend the jurisdiction of the national board of health to cover epidemic diseases encountered furious opposition, as an "entering wedge" for federal aggression, etc., etc.

An unreconstructed minority still mutter under their breath about the growing power of the federal government; the sapping of local institutions and the dangers of centralization; but since the last visitation of yellow fever to New Orleans, the local shotgun quarantine that paralyzed business; the abortive attempts at local disinfection and control and the panic that was created in Gulf and adjacent States; federal control of health conditions, with its quiet firmness and its complete efficiency is as welcome in New Orleans as it is in Mobile and Atlanta.

### **CALIFORNIA'S EXAMPLE.**

Again, California is jealous to the last degree of the doctrine of local control. We saw only a year or so ago that she was willing to risk embroiling the nation with a foreign government over a handful of Japanese school children, in her determination to maintain local control of her local social status and conditions.

We also saw her mercantile associations and press hound out of office and out of the State, an able and efficient federal quarantine officer because he officially reported the presence of bubonic plague in San Francisco and attempted to eradicate it.

We remember how the State board of health refuted his report and paralyzed his efforts; and we also remember how within the two years last past that same community voluntarily placed the whole subject absolutely in the hands of the federal authorities, raised hundreds of thousands of dollars by subscription to be spent at the sweet will of the national authorities, and fairly ate out of the hand of the chief quarantine officer, while he quietly, speedily and effectively rooted out the disease and made a clean city of what was rapidly becoming a plague spot!

### **CALIFORNIA PEOPLE NOT DEGENERATING.**

Are the people of California degenerating in their moral fibre?

Are the people of the Southern States and California abandoning their desire for independence, and weakening in their adherence to the principle of local self-government?

They are not! They have recognized that circumstances alter cases; that forms of government and means and methods of applying them, are means to an end, and that end the greatest good to the greatest number.

### **FANATICAL OPPOSITION.**

A man who picks out one principle of government, regardless of its context and surrounding conditions, and blindly reiterates his adherence thereto, even though such adherence kills citizens, wrecks homes, multiplies the difficulties and negatives the objects of government, is not helping the cause of self-government. He is defeating it. He is a fanatic who worships the shadow in place of the substance. He is on a par with the religious strict constructionists who maintain that every word of the Bible, that most allegorical of books, is literally true; who believes that literal belief in the thirty-nine articles is necessary to salvation; and that by a merciful interposition of providence, one of the

divine pleasures of motherhood in the future life, is to gaze down from the battlements of heaven upon the souls of their babies who died unbaptised, writhing in torment in the fires of hell.

### **GOVERNMENT IS A MEANS TO AN END.**

Again I say, "Government is a means to an end, and that end the greatest good to the greatest number."

Whether that end is to be secured through the federal, territorial or county, or some other medium of government, is an entirely subordinate question.

It is the old proposition over again, enunciated by Christ when he said, "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath."

The local application of that text is that "forms of government were made for man, and not man for forms of government."

If a certain supreme benefit to the community can be obtained through one form of government better than through another, it is strength and not weakness; it is wisdom and not foolishness; it is progress and not retrogression to emulate the example of California and the South, and secure it, through the surest and most efficient medium, regardless of the name by which it is called.

We cannot afford to wrangle over theories of government, while men, women and children are dying and the existence of a race is at stake.

### **A HERRING ACROSS THE SCENT.**

I cannot but feel that the argument that federal prohibition will be an invasion of the principle of self-government is a herring drawn across the scent, to distract attention from a discussion of the merits of the issue.

"The hand is that of Jacob; but the voice is that of Esau."

The "hand" is that of a purported patriotic citizen, resisting at all hazards, encroachment upon his rights; but the "voice" giving vent to these sentiments has a remarkable resemblance to that of the liquor interests seeking to perpetuate its business.

The speciousness of the patriotic appeal has misled many who are in principle prohibitionists, and who, but for the obscuring of the issue by this cunning argument would strenuously favor federal prohibition.

Whenever the real issue of interference with local self-government is raised will be time enough to come to its rescue.

### **PROHIBITION CAN BE ENFORCED.**

It is said that a prohibition law cannot be enforced, federal or otherwise. From the way in which other federal laws are enforced, as compared with the enforcement of territorial statutes covering the same subject, I believe that federal prohibition can and will be enforced, at least as well as other federal statutes, for the following reasons:

(1) The federal court and federal executive officers have a higher standing in the general opinion of the community, and federal laws receive more respect than do territorial laws. It may be that this should not be so, but it is a fact.

(2) Officials who have the execution of local laws are subject to local election and it is human nature that they should, to a greater or less extent, have their ears to the ground to ascertain the wishes of powerful constituents, and defer to their wishes and private interests.

The federal executive officials are controlled by no such local influences.

(3) Juries of the territorial court are drawn from the immediate locality where the offenses are alleged to have been committed, and local politics and friendly relations cut a large figure in verdicts in such cases as liquor prosecutions.



Federal juries, on the other hand, are drawn from the territory as a whole, and are therefore much more free from these local influences. Moreover, federal juries being fewer in number, there is a wider field from which to draw and the average character and intelligence of federal juries is higher than that of the territorial juries.

(4) This is a small and isolated territory, and liquor is bulky and easily discovered. Prohibition can be enforced by an active, efficient government, easier than in any other locality under the American flag.

#### **PROPOSED RESTRICTION OF PROHIBITION TO NATIVE HAWAIIANS.**

It is suggested by some as a kind of compromise that, as the greatest sufferers from intoxicants in Hawaii, are native Hawaiians, the law might be made applicable to them alone.

In the first place, the difficulty of deciding who a Hawaiian is, presents a practical question, which is enough in itself to discredit this proposition.

Some of the Southern States have enacted laws to the effect that a person who has negro blood in his veins to the amount of one-thirty-second is a negro.

If we have a prohibition law for native Hawaiians, a necessary corollary will be a law defining what percentage of Hawaiian blood constitutes a native Hawaiian.

A generation which is fifteen-sixteenths white is already arising, and mixed bloods of all degrees are rapidly increasing.

A law which requires investigation of a man's pedigree for five generations back, before it can be decided whether a certain act is convivial hospitality or a criminal offense does not commend itself to common sense.

#### **NO SPECIAL PROHIBITION POSSIBLE.**

We may as well stop discussing side issues and stop gaps, and face the fact that the time has gone by when neither native Hawaiian citizens nor citizens of any other derivative origin will be singled out to be legislated, either for or against, on a basis of who their great-great-grandfathers were.

For better or for worse, the native Hawaiians are one with us in rights, duties and privileges of citizenship. If liquor is to be free, it will be free to all; and if it is to be prohibited, it will be prohibited to all, be their grandfathers Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Mongolian or Polynesian.

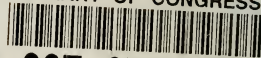
But, while I doubt if any responsible person or organization will propose to enact prohibition to be applied solely to the native Hawaiians, after the merits of the proposition are duly considered, I strongly urge that in this his native land and by necessity his only home, the rights and interests of the native Hawaiian should stand at the fore front in the consideration of the subject; and that we should give him a last chance of survival, while doing the rest of the community a service and giving real self-government an chance to operate, free from the baleful and ever present influence of a purely selfish interest.







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